

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1826

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

S E C R E T NICOSIA 1931

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, US

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH DENKTASH

1. SUMMARY: DENKTASH CONSIDERS THAT PROSPECTS FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION IN CYPRUS ARE VIRTUALLY NIL. FOR THIS, HE BLAMES PRINCIPALLY MAKARIOS UNRECONSTRUCTED THINKING, AND US ARMS EMBARGO. AMBASSADOR COUNTERED THAT TURKS RISK ISOLATING THEMSELVES INTERNATIONALLY BY (A) INABILITY OR UNWILLINGNESS TO TAKE POSITIONS ON KEY SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AND (B) SUCCESSIVE UNILATERAL MOVES THAT PREJUDGE OUTCOME. TURKS WANT TO PROCEED TO UDI. ON ARMS EMBARGO AMBASSADOR MADE PERSONAL SUGGESTION THAT TURKS MIGHT HELPFULLY PUBLICIZE REDUCTION OF TROOPS IN CYPRUS. CONSULAR ACCESS AND COMPENSATION DISCUSSED. END SUMMARY.

2. I SAW DENKTASH FOR 90 MINUTES JUNE 13. A PARALLEL MEETING WITH CLERIDES HAD BEEN CANCELLED OWING TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR UNSC.

3. DENKTASH SPENT ABOUT HALF THE TIME GIVING ME HIS VERSION

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OF VIENNA II ON WHICH HE HAD WELCOMED CONTACT WITH AMBASSADOR

BUCHANAN. THE DENKTASH VERSION, MOST OF WHICH NEED NOT BE REPEATED, IS THAT VIENNA II SHOULD HAVE BEEN POSTPONED DUE LACK OF RESULTS FROM EXPERTS COMMITTEE IN NICOSIA BUT HIS ARM HAD BEEN TWISTED BY TURKEY. ACCORDING TO HIM, HE AND WALDHEIM HAD PROTECTED ONGOING NEGOTIATION AGAINST THREE SEPARATE EFFORTS BY CLERIDES TO BREAK OFF. RESUMPTION ON JULY 24 IS, BY AGREEMENT, TENTATIVE AND DEPENDENT ON PROGRESS IN INTERIM. IN COLLABORATION WITH GOT, HE HAS VIRTUALLY COMPLETED PAPER ON POWERS OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT FOR PRESENTATION IN EXPERTS COMMITTEE. HE WILL BEGIN WORK ON SUGGESTIONS FOR PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT (HE DOES NOT OBJECT TO USE OF CLERIDES' PHRASE "COORDINATING COMMITTEE") NEXT WEEK.

4. OVERALL, DENKTASH EXPRESSED HIMSELF AS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF A CYPRUS SOLUTION. HE LISTED NEGATIVE FACTORS AS BEING ATTITUDE OF MAKARIOS WHO WANTS TO IGNORE NEW REALITIES AND PRETEND SITUATION IS AS IT WAS BEFORE 1974, OBVIOUS RIFT BETWEEN MAKARIOS AND CLERIDES, PARALYSIS OF TURKISH GOVERNMENT ON CYPRUS ISSUE, US ARMS EMBARGO, GROWTH OF AN ABSOLUTELY INTRANSIGENT RIGHT WING FACTION IN TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY AND, OF EVEN GREATER POTENTIAL DANGER, STIMULUS OF LEFT WING RADICALISM AMONG TURKISH CYPRIOTS FROM MAINLAND GROUPS AND GREEK CYPRIOTS (LYSSARIDES).

5. IN A LENGTHY EXCHANGE, I NOTED TURKS COMPLAIN THEY ARE BEING ISOLATED BY CLEVER INTERNATIONAL MANEUVERING OF GREEKS. I SAID IT SEEMED TO ME PERSONALLY THAT SHOE WAS ON THE OTHER FOOT. TURKS CERTAINLY RISKED ISOLATION BUT AS A RESULT OF THEIR OWN INACTIONS AND ACTIONS: IN THE FORMER SENSE THEIR UNWILLINGNESS OR INABILITY TO COME THROUGH WITH PROMISED CONCESSIONS ON KEY SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AND, IN THE LATTER, SUCCESSIVE UNILATERAL MOVES (DECLARATION OF TFSC, PROMULGATION OF CONSTITUTION, CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM, ELECTIONS, AND THREATENED UDI) WHICH PREJUDGE NEGOTIATION. THE GREEKS, I FELT, WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT PRIMARY CONSEQUENCES OF PAST MISTAKES AND MILITARY DEFEAT: BIZONALITY, LOSS OF CONTROL OVER SUBSTANTIAL CYPRIOT TERRITORY, LIMITED REFUGEE RETURN, A TURKISH ADMINISTRATION INDEPENDENT IN MANY KEY FIELDS, A WEAK CENTRAL AUTHORITY. BUT THEY HAD TO HAVE HELP AND THEY WERE  
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NOT GETTING THIS. CLERIDES WAS BEING PROGRESSIVELY WEAKENED. TURKS WERE IN EFFECT SAYING "ACCEPT OUR VIEW OF THE FUTURE AND THEN WE'LL TALK ABOUT WHAT INTERESTS YOU". I ARGUED THAT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO FIND A MIDDLE GROUND IN WHICH ALL SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES COULD BE ARGUED ON AN UNCOMMITTED BASIS, TRADE-OFFS MADE, AND THE SHAPE OF AN EVENTUAL PACKAGE EVOLVED.

6. DENKTASH SAID THIS MIGHT BE GOOD IN THEORY BUT IT WOULD NOT

WORK. TURKEY WOULD NOT PERMIT DISCUSSION OF CONCESSIONS IN CYPRUS UNTIL ARMS EMBARGO REMOVED. ANKARA'S EVALUATION WAS THAT U.S. ADMINISTRATION MOST UNLIKELY MAKE FURTHER HEADWAY WITH CONGRESS. THEREFORE, MATTERS WERE AT IMPASSE. IN THIS SITUATION, HE HAD RECOMMENDED TO ANKARA THAT TURKISH CYPRIOTS PROCEED TO UDI EVEN THOUGH THIS WOULD MEAN DE FACTO ANNEXATION TO TURKEY AND DESPITE A VAGUE HOPE THAT GREEK CYPRIOTS MIGHT COME TO REGARD PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OR COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WHICHEVER IT BE CALLED, AS A MEANS OF STEMMING THE TIDE TOWARD PARTITION.

7. I REPLIED THAT UDI WOULD BE A RESOUNDING FLOP, DISASTROUS FOR NEGOTIATION, CERTAIN TO ISOLATE TURKISH CYPRIOTS AND PRODUCE REITERATED INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR MAKARIOS. IN COMMENTING ON DENKTASH'S POINT THAT TURKEY WOULD NEVER BUDGE ON CYPRUS WHILE ARMS WERE EMBARGOED, I SAID U.S. HAD BEEN VERY CAREFUL NOT TO LINK THESE TWO MATTERS. IT WAS A FACT, HOWEVER, THAT CONGRESS WAS MOST UNLIKELY TO CHANGE ITS VIEW IN ABSENCE OF SOME TURKISH FLEXIBILITY. I NOTED THAT ACCORDING TO OUR ESTIMATES TURKISH FORCES IN CYPRUS ARE NOW BELOW 30,000. WHY, I WONDERED PERSONALLY, COULD TURKEY NOT ANNOUNCE THIS REDUCTION -- NOT AS A CAPITULATION TO PRESSURE, BUT AS A CONSEQUENCE OF SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF ITS MISSION TO SAFEGUARD TURKISH CYPRIOTS? SOME SUCH VOLUNTARY MOVE MIGHT BE VERY HELPFUL TO CONGRESS. DENKTASH SEEMED INTERESTED AND SUGGESTED THIS BE BROACHED IN ANKARA.

8. AT END OF CONVERSATION, WE DISCUSSED BRIEFLY CONTINUING PROBLEMS OF CONSULAR ACCESS AND UNCOMPENSATED SEIZURE OF AMERICAN PROPERTY. DENKTASH SEEMED UNAWARE THAT WE WERE STILL MEETING OBSTRUCTION, WHICH HANDLED BY A DIFFERENT (OREK) BRANCH OF TFSC COORDINATING WITH TURKISH MILITARY, AND SAID HE WOULD SEE WHAT HE COULD DO TO HELP. HE STATED THAT TFSC WILL MOVE TO SET UP A MECHANISM FOR CLAIMS FOR COMPENSATION.

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